L V. 8-4

FRAGIST

February, 1920

731
2863
D

A Woman's Party

Charlotte Perkins Gilman

Centenary of Susan B. Anthony

Portrait—Boardman Robinson
Poem—Katharine Fisher

Volume VIII. No. 1

JK 1880 .S8

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated 1918)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 14 JACKSON PLACE, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Tel. Franklin 7120

BRANCH HEADQUARTERS

Delaware, 17 East 7th Street, Wilmington. *Tel. Wilmington* 5580.
District of Columbia, 14 Jackson Place, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C. *Tel. Franklin* 7120.
Illinois, 1505 Lake View Building. *Tel Central* 4279.
Louisiana, 325 Carondelet St., New Orleans.
Maryland, 817 N. Charles Street, Baltimore. *Tel. Mt. Vernon* 3279.
New Jersey, 709 Union Building, Clinton Street, Newark. *Tel. Market* 3117.

OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any political party.
ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

National Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, *Chairman*
Miss Mabel Vernon, Del., *Secretary*
Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, D. C.
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.
Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.
Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.
Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

National Committee of State Chairmen

Chairman, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
Secretary, Miss Mary Ingham

Alabama
Miss Sara Haardt,
903 S. Perry Ave.
Montgomery

Arizona
Mrs. Nellie A. Hayward
1305 19th St., Douglas

California
Mrs. Genevieve Allen
117 Tenth Ave.
San Francisco

Colorado
Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler
1225 Wood Ave., Colorado Springs

Connecticut
Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn
356 Laurel St.
Hartford, Conn.

Delaware
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
17 East 7th St., Wilmington

District of Columbia
Miss Sheldon Jackson
14 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

Florida
Miss Helen Hunt
417 West Church St.
Jacksonville

Georgia
Mrs. W. A. Maddox
38 Harralson St., Atlanta

Idaho
Mrs. John E. White
R. F. D., Twin Falls

Illinois
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd
339 Ridge Ave.
Winnetka

Indiana
Mrs. W. C. Bobbs
1610 N. Delaware St.
Indianapolis

Iowa
Miss Florence Harsh
(Legislative Chairman)
1805 High St., Des Moines

Kansas
Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe
909 Harrison St., Topeka

Kentucky
Miss Edith Callahan
2016 Third St., Louisville

Louisiana
Mrs. E. G. Graham
7025 Freret St., New Orleans

Maine
Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse
108 Vaughan St., Portland

Maryland
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker
817 North Charles St., Baltimore

Massachusetts
Mrs. Agnes Morey
230 Buckminster Road
Brookline

Michigan
Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard
Detroit

Minnesota
Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Davern Ave., St. Paul

Mississippi
Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely
1702 Cherry St.
Vicksburg

Missouri
Mrs. H. B. Leavens
3126 Karnes Boulevard
Kansas City

Nebraska
Mrs. W. E. Hardy
Calvert Place,
R. F. D., Lincoln

New Hampshire
Mrs. Winfield Shaw
17 Salmon St., Manchester

New Jersey
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
709 Union Building, Clinton St.
Newark

New Mexico
Mrs. Arthur A. Kellam
707 S. Arno St.,
Albuquerque

New York
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont
Port Washington, Long Island
Mrs. John Winters Brannan (acting)
137 E. 66th St.

North Carolina
Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson
Spruce Pine

North Dakota
Mrs. Chas. Amidon
379 Seventh Ave. South
Fargo

Ohio
Mrs. Valentine Winters
319 West 1st St., Dayton

Oklahoma
Miss Ida F. Hasley
Lee Huckins Hotel
Oklahoma City

Oregon
Mrs. W. J. Hawkins
571 Myrtle St.
Portland

Pennsylvania
Miss Mary Ingham
620 S. Washington Square
Philadelphia

Rhode Island
Mrs. Michael Van Beuran
Sunnyfield Farm,
Newport

South Carolina
Mrs. W. P. Vaughan
P. O. Box 792
Greenville

South Dakota
Mrs. A. R. Fellows
Sioux Falls

Tennessee
Miss Sue White
Jackson

Texas
Mrs. Paul Millett
P. O. Box 1140
Fort Worth

Utah
Mrs. Louise Garnett
125 P St., Salt Lake City

Virginia
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith
204 East Grace St., Richmond

Washington
Mrs. Sophie L. W. Clark
5579 29th Ave., N. E., Seattle

West Virginia
Miss Florence Hoge
Edgewood, Wheeling

Wisconsin
Mrs. Frank Putnam
Public Service Bldg.
Milwaukee

Wyoming
Mrs. P. E. Glafcke
1 David Apartments
Cheyenne

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., N. Y.
Vice Chairmen Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C. — Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa. — Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn. — Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Secretary, Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.

Miss Ella Abeel, Ill.
Mrs. Frederick T. Ackerman, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Mrs. W. R. Alvord, Mich.
Mrs. W. D. Ascough, Mich.
Mrs. Adeline Atwater, Ill.
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.
Mrs. M. L. Bankston, La.
Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Fla.
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, Conn.
Mrs. Orlow Black, California
Mrs. Harrjot Stanton Blatch, N. Y.
Mrs. William Blauvelt, N. Y.
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, Ohio
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Mrs. William Baxter Broadwell, Cal.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Mrs. W. G. Brown, W. Va.
Mrs. Henry Bruere, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Bruere, N. Y.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Col.
Mrs. R. J. Caldwell, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Utah
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Mrs. Elinor Carlisle, Cal.
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdon, Utah
Mrs. Ross A. Collins, Miss.
Miss Anna Constable, N. Y.
Mrs. Vincent Cook, Ore.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. R. P. Crump, Miss.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Col.
Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Mrs. Victor du Pont, Delaware
Miss Clara Dyar, Mich.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. John C. Edwards, Mass.
Mrs. Henry Ess, Mo.
Mrs. J. Borden Estee, Vt.
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.
Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley, N. J.
Mrs. William Floyd, N. Y.
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, D. C.
Mrs. Grace Strachan Forsythe, N. Y.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhoux, Ore.
Mrs. L. Crozier French, Tenn.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funck, Md.
Mrs. Mary Garbutt, Cal.
Mrs. Susan Lawrence Gehrman, Ill.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Miss Annie W. Goodrich, N. Y.
Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Cal.
Mrs. Sarah Week Gribi, Cal.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Elon Huntington Hooker, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, N. H.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Miss Ada James, Wis.
Mrs. Agnes Jenks, R. I.
Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, N. Y.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, N. Y.
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy, Pa.
Mrs. Charles Gilmore Kerley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel A. Lindsay, Tex.
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey, Pa.
Mrs. Lillian M. McAdow, N. Y.
Mrs. John E. McCall, Tenn.
Miss Belle McGibney, N. J.
Miss Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Mrs. Benton MacKaye, D. C.
Miss Hazel MacKaye, Mass.
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, N. Y.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Miss Edith Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marian May, N. Y.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Mrs. John E. Milholland, N. Y.
Miss Katherine A. Morey, Mass.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, N. Y.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, N. Y.
Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Ind.
Mrs. Mary Nolan, Fla.
Mrs. George T. Odell, D. C.
Mrs. Fremont Older, Cal.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Horton Pope, Colorado
Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, Conn.
Mrs. W. H. Ridenbaugh, Idaho
Mrs. James M. Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Isaac Reese, Tenn.
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. A. S. Rossin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. Samuel Shields, Tenn.
Mrs. Eugene Shippen, Mich.
Mrs. Frances Thurber Seal, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary Wright Sewall, Ind.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. Julius Stone, Ohio
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Robert Gibbes Thomas, S. C.
Mrs. W. I. Thomas, Ill.
Miss Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. William B. Thompson, N. Y.
Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, N. Y.
Mrs. J. P. Vollmer, Idaho
Mrs. Hattie D. M. Wallis, Col.
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Adeline Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. James Whittemore, Mich.
Dr. Marion Walker Williams, Ariz.
Miss Fannie Witherspoon, Miss.
Mrs. F. L. Woodward, Colo.
Mrs. Pope Yeatman, Pa.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield, Zeisler, Ill.

National Departments

Headquarters Maintenance Committee
Mrs. William Kent

Political
Mrs. Abby Scott Baker

Finance
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis

Press
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel

Legislative
Miss Maud Younger

Announcement

IT IS PERHAPS the chance, perhaps the wisdom of time that at the moment women achieve the vote, the mind of the world is centered on a freedom and equality beyond the narrowly political.

If this were not so, the achievement of "votes"—which for many years was all that women's "rights" meant—might have been regarded by women as the end of the struggle, and the ballot received as merely a symbol of privilege.

From the beginning of women's conscious effort for self-determination, their struggle has been a part of the world's fight for democracy. Many women have thrown their energy into the general effort, but at first a few leaders and finally many thousands believed and acted on the belief that it was for women to make themselves free, and so, as a component part of humanity, increase the freedom of the whole.

Now women must again choose which of these lines to follow, whether with the vote in their hands they can serve freedom best as individuals scattered in various fields of endeavor, or whether they as women are still so bound and hampered that their condition delays the progress of liberty and demands that they continue to seek their own freedom.

On this question depends the future policy of the great organizations in which women during the last half-century have united for enfranchisement.

This much is sure, women who up to this time have devoted their efforts to securing the ballot, are now watching and studying the efforts of other women for equality in industry, for influence in education, for a place of responsibility in the professions and for important offices under their governments—they are eager to learn where women stand in all fields and in all countries.

Though its chief concern must, until ratification is completed, be the amendment, THE SUFFRAGIST, which with this issue becomes a monthly, intends to report from time to time, the progress of women in other places and in other lines of activity. It hopes to have articles from those in touch with women abroad and those who are concerned with new developments here at home in public health, in education, in art and industry, as well as in politics.

If after ratification is completed, the magazine is continued in one form or another depends largely on the answer to the bigger question, are women to remain a separate self-conscious group?

FLORENCE BOECKEL, Editor.

To Subscribers

THE SUFFRAGIST, which with this issue becomes a monthly, will appear hereafter at the end of the month preceding the date of issue. The change from a weekly to a monthly, with its attendant delay, has been due to a desire to take as little as possible either in time or money from the urgent work of ratification. It has been felt, too, that ratification has not offered the same constantly changing situation as did the work in Congress, and has not therefore required a weekly report.

To all old subscribers the price of the SUFFRAGIST will remain the same and subscriptions will be continued over a period equal to that during which no issues have appeared. Faced by the same cost conditions as other magazines, the SUFFRAGIST is, however, like them compelled to raise its price to fifteen cents an issue or one dollar and fifty cents a year. It solicits your support, your interest and your suggestions.

In next Month's issue—

Women and the League of Nations.

Restrictive Legislation for Women in Industry,
By Marie L. Obenauer.

THE SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

VOL. VIII. NO. 1 FEBRUARY, 1920

EDITORS

FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL.....*Editor*
ELIZABETH GREEN KALB.....*Assistant*
ALICE HENRY.....*Book Reviews*
NINA E. ALLENDER.....*Cartoonist*

Published monthly at Washington, D. C., by the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Lafayette Square.

Subscription rates, one dollar and a half per year, in advance. Single copies fifteen cents. Foreign subscriptions, two dollars per year, in advance.

Entered as second-class matter, November 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under the act of March 3, 1879.

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

by

Alice Paul

FOR over a year the suffrage amendment was held up in Congress by the lack of two votes in the Senate.

Are politicians going to repeat themselves and permit two states to hold up ratification until too late for women to play their full part in the next Presidential elections?

There is at present no certainty that the women of the United States as a whole will vote in 1920. If they are to do so ratification must be completed before May 1, the final date in some places for registration for the elections. There is even less assurance that they will be enfranchised in time to take part in the conventions, and scarcely a hope left that they will be able to enter all state presidential primaries. To accomplish this last, the amendment must be ratified before the earliest primary date, which is February 20th.

The present discussion of party candidates for the presidency shows how important it is that women have a vote in all conventions and primaries. Merely to cast a vote for one of two candidates offered can scarcely be called a free choice in the matter of electing a ruler.

This coming election is not a question of a brief four years, it is more likely that the history of the next fifty will depend on the results in November. While it is true that approximately seventeen million women can already vote for President under state laws, in the congressional elections only some seven million are now entitled to take part. The character of the next Congress, therefore, with the far-reaching legislation bound to be passed by it, may well depend on whether or not the amendment is ratified promptly.

The task confronting women is, first, to win ratification in the last few needed states, where the opposition is much greater than any heretofore encountered; and, second, to hold the ratifications already won against the effort to nullify them by referendum, as has been attempted in Ohio.

But in spite of the difficulties in the last few states, in spite of the complication arising from the attempt to force a referendum on ratification, the amendment can be ratified promptly. It will be ratified promptly if political leaders are convinced that women will accept nothing less and will recognize failure on their part as deliberate.

Learning New Tricks

35=0 35+1=36

So Suffragists Calculate---Politicians Have Apparently Accepted Their Figures

THE suffrage fight is narrowed down to the last six states.

To women it does not matter which those last six are, but to the politicians it does. The Republicans are trying in the final days to live up to their record of twenty-one ratifications and no defeats. The Democrats are endeavoring to capture as many of the last six as possible, to better their present record of six ratifications and five defeats.

The marked contrast in these two records cannot be accepted as sufficient advantage by the Republicans for the reason that women are not interested in valiant efforts to enfranchise them in time for the next elections, but only in a successful attempt. In Congress the Republicans, by failing to give the last vote, lost the full benefit of the large majority which they did give to the passage of the suffrage amendment, and there is a chance that this situation will repeat itself in the states. Though the Democrats have given a much smaller number, it is possible they will provide the ratifications which will mean the difference between voting and not voting.

The situation at the moment figures up in this way: twenty-seven states have ratified—Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Texas, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Montana, Nebraska, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Utah, California, Maine, North Dakota, South Dakota, Colorado, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Oregon, Indiana and Wyoming. A special session is scheduled in Idaho for February 11, in Nevada for February 7, and sessions are promised in New Mexico and Arizona for "before February 15."

Two full suffrage states have still failed to act—one Republican, Washington, and one Democratic—Oklahoma. Neither the pleas of suffragists nor those of national political leaders have been able up to this time to persuade the governors of these states to put a question

affecting half the population of America before local issues so obscure that no one outside of the states can understand them. However, neither suffragists nor political leaders believe that these governors can persist in their refusals, if it reaches the point where their legislatures would determine the question.

Counting these suffrage states the ratification figure is brought up to thirty-three. West Virginia is considered assured, since the legislature shows a majority in favor of ratification and the governor, though he has so far delayed it, has promised that a special session will be called.

The Last Two

The remaining two states, granted that New Mexico ratifies (the other special sessions are called in suffrage states and are certain to), must be won from among those now in session which have not acted—New Jersey and Maryland—or those in which the legislatures are favorable but the governors have so far refused to call special sessions—Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont.

In New Jersey, upon the opening of the legislature, a bill was introduced by Assemblyman Coles, demanding that no action be taken on pending or future federal amendments by the legislature until the question had been submitted to a referundum of the people.

This bill was referred to a committee favorable to suffrage, where it was anticipated it would die, but during the session of the assembly on the day of the inauguration of the new governor, at which it is courtesy and custom to transact only routine business, a resolution was, in the words of New Jersey editorials, "sneaked through" by trick and passed by a viva voce vote, in which there were a few perfunctory yeas and no nays, and which reads:

> "That this House favors the expression of the people's will as to ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution before final action on amendments is taken by the legislature."

According to further editorial comment in New Jersey,

> "If Clerk Jefferys, of Camden, who is against woman suffrage, had read that resolution loudly and distinctly, such a resolution, of course, would not have passed, since it is understood that a clear majority of the Assembly is now pledged to support immediate ratification of the pending woman suffrage amendment. The resolution was railroaded through before more than three or four members had any idea what they were voting on."

This desperate effort on the part of the opponents of suffrage in New Jersey was defeated on January 26, when a vote for reconsideration was passed by a large majority, and the resolution sent to committee.

The problem is now to secure a vote for ratification in face of an opposition willing to stoop to any scheme.

In Maryland, in spite of the fact that the Democratic party did everything which, as a party, it could to prevent the ratification of the amendment by putting a plank in its platform declaring for state suffrage, there is still a chance of favorable action.

The Republicans on their part have a plank in their state platform calling for a referendum on constitutional amendments. This plank is declared by Senator France and other Republican leaders, not to apply to the suffrage amendment, since that was already submitted, but to future amendments.

For six months the National Woman's Party, Maryland branch, has been campaigning over the state and everywhere strong sentiment for the amendment has been manifested. No definite conclusion can be based on the poll of the legislature which has been taken since the November elections, because of the large number of non-committal men. It is in these non-committals that the suffrage hope lies and many of them are expected to be won over by the declaration of Senator France covering the referendum.

Connecticut and Vermont offer a fair chance of ratification. The legislatures are known to contain a majority in favor of the amendment. In both the governors are anti-suffragists and have so far refused to permit their legislators to vote on this question. The governors, however, are also Republicans and it seems likely that if a man must choose between two convictions, he will choose the one which has to do with the future rather than the one which will concern only a past phase of government and civilization.

Delaware—it is here perhaps the brightest hope shines for ratification, for the legislature is favorable, and as long ago as last summer the governor, a suffragist, was on the point of calling a special session, but was deterred by the fear of local complications, concerning the school fight, which has so roused that state during the last six months.

Out West

In Washington the governor is apparently delaying his call because of his reluctance to give the members of the legislature an opportunity to act on other measures. According to the constitution of Washington no limit can be placed on a special session and reports from that state are that every legislator has a bill in his pocket ready for introduction if the session is called. Rather than have this Republican state fail to act on the amendment it is believed that pressure will be brought to bear to secure an agreement of the legislators to bring up no other business.

In Oklahoma the governor's excuses for delay vary, but his chief reason seems to be the opposition to himself on the part of the legislature.

The governor of West Virginia has postponed calling a special session for suffrage because a session will have to be called when the Supreme Court hands down a decision on a public utilities case now before it. The governor is a suffragist and the legislature shows a favorable majority.

Ratify! Cry Both Parties

Either party could provide the final ratification out of this list of states. The Republicans, by securing Washington, New Jersey, Vermont or Delaware, and the Democrats by giving Oklahoma, West Virginia, Maryland. There is ample proof in the activities of the national leaders of both parties that this is not a matter of indifference to either.

On January 3, 1920, Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer sent a letter to every member of the legislatures in session, urging immediate action and offering as one of his reasons the influence which the enfranchisement of women would have on the condition of unrest throughout the country. In his own words:

"In view of the present movements of unrest in this country, with which as Attorney General I have come in close contact, I feel that it is highly important that every possible influence be used to stabilize our institutions and prevent unrest. I am convinced that the immediate extension of suffrage to our women will be a most important force in this direction."

The Democratic members of these same legislative bodies received also a communication from Homer Cummings, chairman, Democratic National Committee, in which he quoted the resolution passed by the Democratic National Committee in Chicago last year. He concluded in this way:

"Because of the fact that almost no Democratic states have been in regular session since the passage of the above resolution, it becomes most important that the Democratic states which meet in January should establish as excellent a record as possible for our party before the next national election. As chairman of the National Democratic Committee, I want to take this opportunity to express to you the very deep hope of the Democratic National Committee that you will vote for ratification when the suffrage amendment comes before your legislature, and that you will not vote against its ratification directly, nor help defeat it indirectly by referring it to a referendum or by substituting a state-wide suffrage resolution. By casting your vote in favor of ratification, you will be helping us maintain the policy agreed upon by the National Democracy."

Scott Ferris, chairman, Democratic Congressional Committee, followed this appeal with another in which he urged:

"Let me appeal to you as a Democratic member of the legislature of your state, charged with the responsibility of carrying out the party's wishes and mandates, to do what you can, in caucus, in private, in public, on the floor, through the newspapers and elsewhere, to get the Suffrage Amendment ratified."

"No Time to Lose"—Bryan

To these appeals of officials of the Democratic party, William Jennings Bryan added his own statement:

"I hope that all legislatures that are now meeting will deal immediately with the suffrage amendment so that the amendment will be ratified in time to give women a voice in nominations as well as in the election. I am especially anxious that the Democratic states shall act promptly and favorably. First, in order that the Democratic party may be able to make a successful appeal to women voters, and, secondly, because we need the conscience of women to aid the moral causes to which Democracy is pledged. I take it for granted that special sessions will be called in states that do not have a regular session soon. No time ought to be lost in settling this question on the side of suffrage."

At the recent conference in Washington of the Republican leaders, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"The National Republican Committee recommends to Republican legislatures to ratify the federal woman suffrage amendment. It congratulates the eighteen Republican states included in the twenty-two which have already acted and urges that special sessions in other states be called before February first to complete the ratification."

Senator Curtis to Republicans

This was followed by a letter from Senator Curtis, then secretary of the Republican Senatorial Committee, to all Republican members of the legislatures meeting in January:

"In my capacity as secretary of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, I feel extremely concerned about the speedy ratification of suffrage by your legislature. As you know, our party's suffrage record in Congress was much better than that of the Democrats. We are most desirous that the Republican legislatures further strengthen this record by prompt ratification of the amendment. If they do this, it will greatly aid us in the 1920 elections in making our appeal to the seventeen million women who are now voters in this country. In view of the importance of this matter, I am taking the liberty of writing to you and to all the Republican members of your legislature, to urge upon you my earnest hope that you will vote for ratification when suffrage comes before your legislature, and that you will oppose any effort to defeat or delay ratification as by a referendum or a state-wide suffrage resolution."

It is significant that almost immediately after the passage of the Republican Committee's resolution, the home state of Chairman Hays ratified in a special one-day session, though up to this time the governor of Indiana had persistently delayed calling the legislature.

Legislators and governors have also received appeals other than the strictly political.

From Farmer and Worker

At the Farm Labor Conference in Chicago in November, where the delegates represented organizations with a membership of over 3,100,000, this resolution was unanimously adopted:

"We believe that it is necessary to the preservation and extension of democracy in America that women of our country should vote at the earliest possible moment, and since the federal suffrage amendment cannot become a law in time for women to vote in the 1920 presidential elections, unless special sessions of state legislatures are held for the purpose of ratification, we urge that the governors of states which have not ratified this amendment call special sessions of their legislatures immediately for the ratification of the federal suffrage amendment, and that legislatures which meet in January, 1920, ratify promptly upon assembly."

The Farm Women's National Congress, at its meeting in Hagerstown, Maryland, in October, passed a similar resolution.

The Executive Committee of the Women's National

(*Continued on page* 20)

Charlotte Perkins Gilman

A Woman's Party

"Offering no rivalry, no opposition as a party; but serving as a strong, steady upward influence in politics" * *
"Government in enlightened modern states, is organized social service. Women, by long usage, have learned to serve."

THE name Woman's Party is open to a quite natural misunderstanding.

Suffering as we do from party policies, many see in the title a promise of complications and a realization of the old bogey sex antagonism.

These last seem to think that if a large number of women agree on something different from what is advocated by most men, that it must be injurious to men.

Nothing of the kind is to be inferred.

Consider a case in point. The efforts of women have at last succeeded in the establishment of a Children's Bureau. The work of this Bureau is hampered by insufficient appropriation, pitifully insufficient.

If the women voters should unitedly act to secure sufficient funds for this most valuable work, that would not indicate sex antagonism.

It is essentially the business of women to take care of children, whether in public or in private, but such action does not hurt men.

So in any needed legislation to equalize opportunity for women workers, such as giving women medical graduates their fair share of appointments in hospitals, such justice is for the benefit of all and does not imply any discrimination against men.

There are two main grounds on which such an organization of the woman's vote is useful; one as a general protest against partizan government, and the other as a means of furthering those special purposes upon which women naturally feel more strongly than men.

Some will not admit that there are any such dissimilar interests, while others admit them but insist on attributing them to sex antagonism.

But suppose for instance that an anti-smoke campaign is started in our cities.

Men build, own and operate the mills and shops which make the worst of the smoke, as they also build and own the dwelling-houses which contribute their share. They oppose change as necessitating an outlay of money, and think the objections to smoke are trivial.

But women look at the exhibit of blackened lungs from our soft coal cities, learn of the increase of pulmonary troubles, especially among children; resent the dingy ugliness which blackens the beauty of buildings, and are sharply conscious of the heavily increased labor in trying to keep things clean, clothes, curtains, carpets and furniture.

To them the smoke evil is an evil, unmitigated.

Only the women of the mill-owning families would be likely to vote with the men on the question, yet the different point of view is not one of sex distinction, but only of different occupations.

For many reasons the women's vote, so far as it may be united, is likely to be in favor of progressive measures, yet even if this involved a difference of opinion with the majority of men voters, the difference would not be indicative of sex antagonism. Nothing can fairly be attributed to that impulse unless women should unite in placing restrictions and disabilities on men.

If statutes were introduced penalizing men more heavily than women for the same offence; if men were arrested and punished when women were not, for doing the same thing; if men were denied privileges and opportunities commonly open to women; then there would be grounds for claiming sex antagonism.

Even here I may grant too much, for these things have long been done by men to women, and it has not been attributed to this cause.

However no thoughtful student of our present social tendencies need feel any anxiety on this ground. Men and women alike are now too much interested in the pressing problems of maintaining our democracy, of bringing peace and order out of industrial chaos, and of doing our duty as a nation toward all the other nations, to waste time in petty efforts of rivalry or revenge.

What long injustice was done by dead men to dead women need not occupy our minds, so long as the live ones are ready to work together for the good of the world.

The whole movement called Feminism is of value only in so far as it helps humanity.

Women are not a separate race, they are merely half of

this one, and the importance of their advancement is that without it the whole world must be hindered.

A democracy is the most laborious and responsible form of government. So long as women had no share in it they were indifferent and ignorant, and too many of their sons adopted the same attitude.

With power comes responsibility.

Our half-democracy is now a whole one, or soon will be.

Personal Interest in Government

With this change we should see the beginning of that conscious ceaseless personal interest in the work of popular government without which no democracy is safe.

The special effort of the National Woman's Party for the moment is to promote the work of ratification of the Federal amendment so long striven for. They have shown great ability as organizers, in raising money, and in dealing with politicians on their own grounds.

When a social movement comes to the point of legislative enactment, we must either deal with the existing political machine or make a new one. This particular group of equal suffragists concentrated on the machine as it was, and learned how to work it.

They are thereby all the readier to take hold and get results now that sex restrictions are removed from political action. Women need no longer petition men to do things for them, nor blame men for conditions they do not approve.

It would be well indeed for our country if the Woman's Party were to grow strong in every state, to offer a minimum program to all its members which they could further through any existing party, and then to use its funds to develop by careful investigation such further steps in social advancement as seem wise and feasible.

If it should set up a separate machine, with platform and candidates, it would meet the same difficulty which so weakens the Socialist Party, namely the increasing withdrawal of voters from any effective action until such time as they become a majority.

Demands Backed by Votes

But as an organized body of women using their power in urging one measure after another upon existing parties and backing their demands with a large and growing number of votes, they can both achieve in the present and push toward a better future.

It is of the most vital importance in our country today for the masses of discontented citizens to realize that the remedies are in their own hands, with existing tools.

We can, if we choose, select and elect our own real representatives. We can, if we choose, provide them with definite programs for new legislation or enforcement of what is now made.

If we are not free and able to progress under this government it is because of ignorance, indifference, and lack of organization.

Women, as a new body of voters, surely need an organization of their own. They need some special education. They need to be shown what are their particular claims as a class, what are their particular responsibilities as mother-voters, and the larger field where their interests are merely human and in common with men.

A definite Woman's Party, under able leadership, ought to be of genuine assistance to the older machines in keeping them in touch with the wishes of this large class of citizens.

No Political Rivalry

It offers no rivalry, no opposition, as a party; but it should serve as a strong steady upward influence in politics.

Men, inherently combative, have applied the word "politics" mainly to their frantic scramble to secure election, whereas politics is the science of government, and does not begin until after election.

Government, in enlightened modern states, is organized social service. Women, by long usage, have learned to serve.

But they have always lived apart, each working alone in and for her own family. Their need is for union, for combination and mutuality, and for recognition of the great common efforts which are necessary for human progress.

For this need, in education and in practice, the Woman's Party serves well. With growing achievement it should learn more and more of political science and practical skill, winning the confidence of all of us, forming a connection between home and state, bringing to bear on all our problems the deep reservoir of mother-wisdom, mother-energy and mother-love.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 23, 1912, OF THE SUFFRAGIST, PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FOR OCTOBER 1, 1919.

Before me, a notary, in and for the City of Washington, District of Columbia, personally appeared Ruth Garner Quick, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of THE SUFFRAGIST, and that the following, is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C. Editor, Florence Brewer Boeckel; Circulation Manager, Ruth Garner Quick.

2. That the owners are: National Woman's Party, Executive Committee; Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Chairman; Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., Secretary; Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, N. Y.; Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.; Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.; Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.; Miss Maud Younger, Cal.; Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortagagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amounts of bonds, mortgages, or other securities, are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given, also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

RUTH GARNER QUICK.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 10th day of October, 1919.
(Seal.) ELEANOR M. NOLAND.

Drawn for The Suffragist by Boardman Robinson

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Susan B. Anthony

—Born February 15, 1820—

By KATHARINE FISHER

HER life is a luminous banner borne ever ahead of her era, in
lead of the forces of freedom,
Where wrongs for justice call.
High-hearted, far-sighted, she pressed with noble intrepid impa-
tience, one race and the half of another
To liberate from thrall.

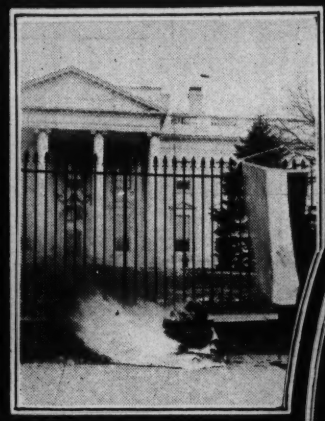
If now in its freedom her spirit mingle with ours and find us
toiling at dusk to finish
The task of her long day,
On ground hard held to the last, gaining her goal for women,
if for her word we hearken,
May we not hear her say:

"Comrades and daughters exultant, let my goal for you be a mile-
stone. Too late have you won it to linger.
Victory flies ahead.
Though women march millions abreast on a widening way to free-
dom, trails there are still for women
Fearless to break and tread.

"Keep watch on power as it passes, on liberty's torch as it
travels, lest woman be left with a symbol,
No flame in her lamp alive.
In the mine, the mill and the mart where is bartered the bread of
your children, is forged the power you strove for,
For which you still must strive."

Her spirit like southern starlight at once is afar and around us;
her message an inward singing
Through all our life to run:
"Forward together, my daughters, till born of your faith with
each other and of brotherhood all the world over,
For all is freedom won."

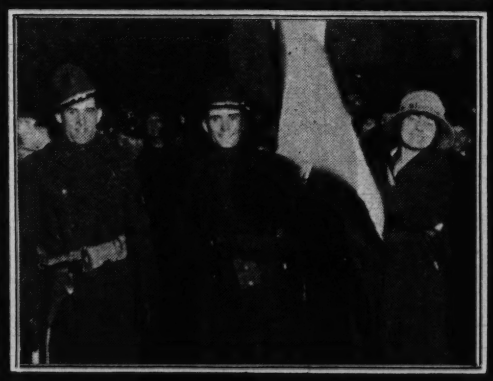
At the beginning of 1919 suffragists had struggled a year for two votes in the United States Senate and were still asking "How long must women wait for liberty"



As a symbol of protest against the President's neglect of liberty at home, watch fires of freedom were lighted January 1st to burn his speeches on freedom

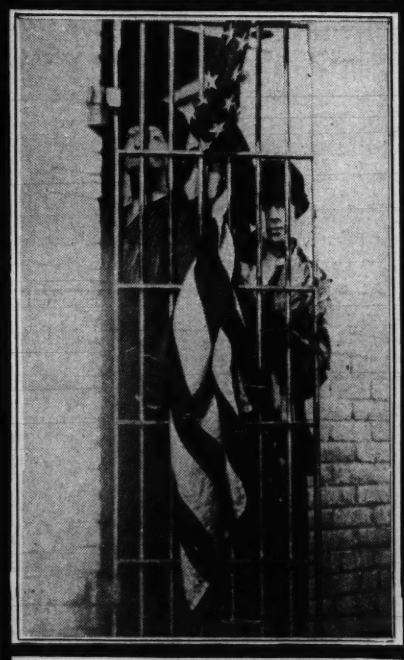
The Betsy Ross of w... Sewing ratification ... gold ...

After the watch fires had burned for a week in front of the empty executive mansion, officials suddenly ordered the arrest of the women who day and night had kept the flames blazing



When in March President Wilson went back to Paris the Woman's Party held a protest in New York against his neglect of the freedom of half the American people

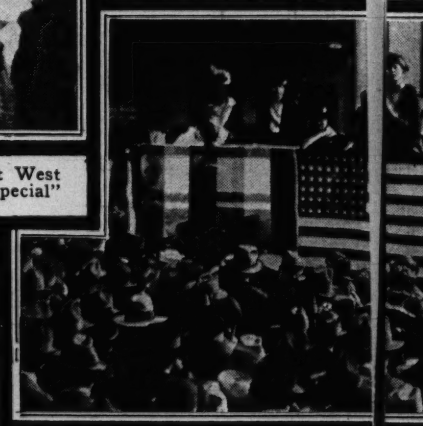
Suffragist brought back on a stretcher after 5 days in jail



On his return from Europe in February women appealed to the President in Boston—and were jailed for appealing

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer—out West the police welcomed the "special"

Passengers of the "Special" in the coarse prison costume



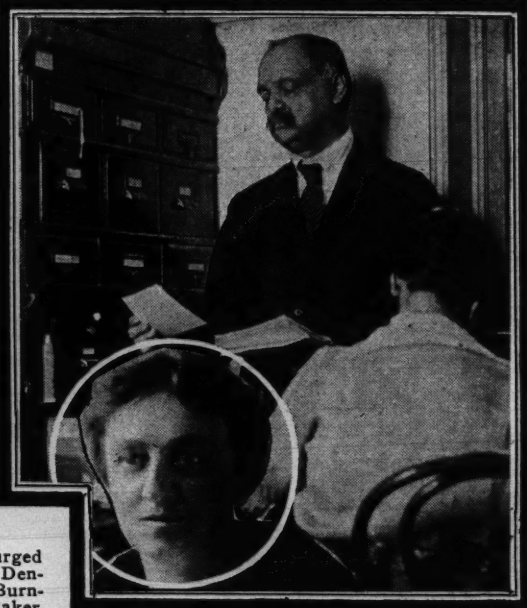
In February the "Prison Special" ... carr... passengers started through the co... untr... compel the Administration and Co... gres... overflowed its halls and stood crow... ded... story of the women's fi...

FROM BANNER TO

of wo men's struggle for independence. tion : tars on the purple, white and gold suffrage banner

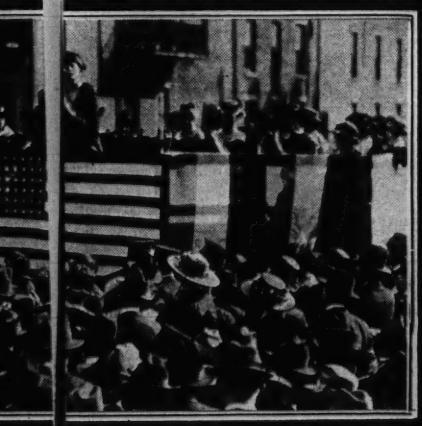
Votes once assured in Congress and only the shouting left, officers of the Women's Party went west to secure ratification. The day the amendment passed the Senate, Alice Paul (center) was already in Minnesota working with the ratification committee

The Woman's Party received the Wisconsin envoy, who by a cross country race won first place for his state in the ratification record



Wherever officials or leaders foregathered the Woman's Party urged prompt enfranchisement of women. Conference of governors in Denver—Left to right, Gov. and Mrs. Allen of Kan., Gov. and Mrs. Burnquist of Minn., Gov. Stewart of Mont., Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party, Gov. Harding of Iowa

Miss Maud Younger, legislative chairman, with her files of state legislators



cial" carrying 25 "suffrage convicts" as he co untry to appeal to the people to d Co ngress to act. Even New Orleans d crow rded in public squares to hear the women' s fight for freedom

Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania is one of the 27 governors who have now signed ratification certificates. Pennsylvania was the first non-suffrage state to act favorably on the amendment

In January 1920, twenty-seven states were won though women were still waiting for freedom

TO BANNER IN 1919

The Present Problem of Women in Industry

HOW to protect their right to earn a livelihood and at the same time their lives while they are earning it, is the question confronting women in industry. Protective legislation has proved in many instances to be a boomerang, with the ultimate effect of guarding women against injury in industry by keeping them out of it or of so limiting their occupations that they could not earn enough to live any life, however safe.

Inevitably the difficulty of drawing a line of protection so that, while it prevents women from death by exhaustion, it does not cause death by slow starvation, is dividing women who are thinking along these lines, into various factions.

Legislation—Enough and No More

Recently there has grown up a group which argues against any protective legislation whatever for women as such, and urges that all laws passed be applied also to men workers. Some others still feel that all possible safeguards should be secured to the woman who works outside her home. The middle ground is that a certain minimum of legislation is necessary to protect women at the time of the bearing of children, but that anything beyond this will probably make matters worse rather than better.

A further complication enters into the situation because of the fact that organized men workers object to any legislation whatever for themselves, while at the same time encouraging it for women who in their minds are both weaker creatures to be protected and competitors to be held in check. This attitude, at least for the moment, interferes with the fullest co-operation of men and women to secure common protection as workers.

Two boiler-makers, riveters, were asked about the women who had worked in their shop during the war. "How are they getting along?" "Oh, they do the work all right and they like it, but it's no kind of a job for a woman." "Why not?" "Why, it would ruin a woman's eyes in two months," said the riveter. "How about the men then?" "Oh, the men, they wear goggles"—that seemed to end the question.

Another group were discussing the "female conductor." "I want to see them get off the cars," said one man. "No man can respect these women who take up his car tickets. Maybe it's because their uniform isn't becoming." Obviously there is here a difficult lack of logic.

At International Conferences

How much attention this question of health versus livelihood is absorbing is indicated by the place its discussion held in both of the recent international conferences of women; the Conference of Women Physicians which met in New York and the Congress of Working Women which met in Washington. A full day's discussion was devoted by the working women to what legislation, if any, was needed for the safety of women.

The resolution on hazardous occupation gives the gist of the whole matter. Section three of that resolution reads:

> "Prohibition of the employment of women only in trades which cannot be made healthy for women as potential mothers."

The resolution further calls for

> "The appointment of a committee including women under the League of Nations, international in personnel, to co-ordinate the work of national research in the dangerous trades."

The resolution on night work, on the other hand, reflects the conflict of opinion among the delegates. Representatives of the Scandinavian countries which have already succeeded in reducing night work for both men and women to a minimum of absolute necessity, naturally did not wish to endorse a resolution which implied a step backward. The Latin countries on their part felt that because of a lack of organization among their workers it was necessary to secure protection by legislation. The resolution finally adopted deals with men and women in separate sections. It prohibits "night work for all women in industrial employment" and in the following section it "urges that night work shall be prohibited by law for men except in so far as it may be absolutely necessary through the special nature of or the continuity of the occupation or in case of public service."

The women physicians on their part devoted a session to showing that feminine handicaps had been much overemphasized. Very conclusive proof was offered in the course of the discussion that woman's physical health and endurance is fully equal to man's. In regard to industrial danger, the thought of the conference was to eliminate the dangers, not women.

Hope of Solving the Problem

This, then, is the problem. As to its solution, strong hope lies in an industrial survey which is just being completed for the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A. It deals with many varieties of industry and is based on reports gathered by various boards and committees during the war.

The industries covered include nearly fifteen thousand firms employing approximately two and a half million people, five hundred thousand of them women. They range from the production of soda fountains and chicken feed to the making of guns and munitions. There are the iron and steel industries with twenty-two branches, including chemical products and explosives, lumber and timber industries, electric machinery, airplanes, automobiles, rubber goods, men's furnishings, clothing industries, textiles, from balloon silk to clothing material and a group which takes in mattresses and bed springs and a collection of other essentials. Over 3,500 of these firms substituted women in men's places during the war.

From those making the largest substitutions information was obtained showing women substituted for men; the basis of payment for men and for women; the time required for women to become experienced; the relative output by women; the changes required in the industry by the substitution of women for men workers, such as supervision, additional number of workers, changes in machinery; and, finally, the number of women taken on during the war who have been dismissed since the armistice, and the number who have been replaced by men.

This information, once collected, may well furnish a basis on which it will be possible to build an acceptable program for women in industry.

F. B. B.

Won't You Come Into My Party?

BARGAIN hunting for the woman's vote is the order of the political day. Both of our great parties want to win the approval of women, and undoubtedly want it enough to pay the woman's price. But being out for a bargain, Republicans and Democrats alike are starting the bidding low.

So we find that the Republican committee has its "women's division" and the Democrats their "women's bureau," but that not a single woman's name appears on the national executive committee of either party.

In the Democratic organization women are still the "associates" of the men who govern the party's policy. One woman from each state belongs to an "Associate Democratic National Committee" and takes part in national councils, but she has no separate vote, except as proxy for an absent man. She is declared to represent "half the vote of each state," and—shades of the days of indirectness—has equal "opportunity and influence in discussion and decision."

True, two women are now members of the committee on arrangements for the national convention, but fifteen men are members of this same committee. No state organizations have women chairmen, though two have women vice-chairmen, and some few expect to send women delegates to the national convention.

Democratic women report that steps are now under way to admit women equally with men into the party's organization. "Equal voting power in the national committee is now being worked for, and is expected to be achieved in the near future." Mr. Homer Cummings, national chairman, is considering appointing a woman's committee of 17 members to match the men's committee in charge of convention arrangements.

The party attitude toward women generally is explained in what is called the "Missouri plan," which provides for separate organizations of women to match those of the men, from the precinct up to the state committee. This is the plan urged by the party leaders for adoption throughout the country.

"Influential Advisors"

In the Republican party, the members of the "Women's Division" of the Republican National Committee and its executive committee have no voice in the national committee from which are chosen the men who run the party. State organizations of women, paralleling those of the men, are reported as "very influential" in an "advisory capacity."

Nationally, too, Republican women are not without their indirect influence on their party. A big Republican daily recently stated that the choice of Chicago as the convention city was due solely to the request of the Women's Division!

A change in the organization of the party is foreshadowed in the resolution endorsed at the Republican conference recently held in Chicago. This resolution asked that the National Committee be doubled, making room for one man and one woman from each state. Since the adoption of the resolution would mean a change in the party constitution, its consideration is postponed until the national convention in June. Meantime, a few women delegates are being sent to the convention.*

Old Compared With New

In contrast, however, to these older parties is the new National Labor Party, which has already adopted just that scheme of equal representation in its councils for its men and women members. The Labor Party held its national convention for organization in Chicago on November 22, and one of its first steps toward permanent organization was the adoption of the motion that the National Executive Committee should consist of two members from each state, one man and one woman. This followed the adoption of the resolution that women should have equal representation on all committees.

In the convention itself, women delegates represented labor unions composed of men and women—probably the first time in political history that women represented men. During the entire business of the convention, whenever a committee was appointed, women were appointed on it as representatives not only of women, but of men.

The old parties will have to fall in line with this new order. When women have been fighting and are still fighting—since that fight is not yet won—for the right to express their views in the affairs of the nation, they are not going to be satisfied with an "auxiliary" position to camouflage their exclusion from the actual upbuilding of the political machine, and the real choice of candidates.

The step taken by the National Labor Party is the most radical so far. The Socialists have always had women on their National Committees and on their National Executive Committee, but they were elected in every case by referendum vote and the proportion was usually one to six. The ruling of the Labor Party, on the other hand, is that the second representative from each state must be a woman.

After all, this is perhaps the culmination of the tendency begun in a quaint way over fifty years ago by the Grange organization. The National Grange is composed of the Masters of each State Grange—and their wives!—each one being the alternate of the other with equal voting power.

Hazel Hunkins.

*After this article was in print the Republicans, on January 28th, announced the appointment of 19 women to a committee of 171 members, which is to collect information and advise the national committee.

Victory Breeds Victory

Close on the Heels of the Passage of the Suffrage Amendment Congress Looks Into Its Treatment of Women Government Workers

THE first official effort to standardize pay according to the skill required and regardless of whether the person who performs the work is male or female is being carried on in Washington by the Reclassification Commission on Civil Service Salaries. In the belief of many women the establishment of this new equality is second in importance only to the suffrage amendment itself:

In how far the relationship between these two victories for women is one of cause and effect or whether they are merely simultaneous expressions of one forward movement is an interesting puzzle. The obvious facts are these:

For years women have been the drudges of the Government service as they were for years the drudges of the household. For years they have protested against discriminations in the Government service which closed to them a large proportion of Civil Service examinations; which limited their appointment to a narrow field chiefly of clerical jobs, which forced them to accept lower entrance salaries; which restricted their chances for promotion.

To Those Who Have

These protests went unheard until this year when the situation was altered by the approaching achievement of political power by women, an increased membership in the National Federation of Federal Employes and also persistent agitation on the part of the Women's Trade Union League and individual women, among them notably Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Connecticut.

One concrete evidence of a new consideration for the the rights of the Government employes was given in the formation by Congress of the Reclassification Commission.

The Commission soon published a preliminary report of a sub-committee setting forth the discriminations against women, and a fairly eager effort on the part of the legislators to suggest reforms immediately followed. So far in the House, Representative Fess, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, has championed the women's cause, and in the Senate, Senator McLean of Connecticut, who has the task of making women forget a strong anti-suffrage record, has introduced a bill forbidding discriminations against women in appointments under the Civil Service Commission, excepting "where sex is a physical barrier."

The report of the sub-committee which so quickly roused the legislators to legislate, included such statements as these.

Women were excluded from 60 percent of the examinations held by the Civil Service Commission during the first six months of 1919. Apparently no rime or reason governed these exclusions. The Government called for women to undertake experimental work in horticulture, "especially potato growing," but they were excluded from working with the tobacco plant. Women were permitted to study human and plant diseases, but not allowed to take examinations for investigating animal parasites. The Navy Department used women to test materials most suitable for naval use, but the forest service wanted only men to determine the chemical and mechanical properties of wood. Women were allowed to take examinations to test food and drugs but not dyes.

During the first two months of 1919, according to a report of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, over 86 per cent of the women appointed entered at salaries ranging from $900 to $1,299 per year, while only 36 per cent of the men were appointed to positions at these salaries. Forty-six per cent of the men, as compared with 5 per cent of the women, received more than $1,299 per year. Women operatives in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are rated at the same or lower pay than unskilled men laborers.

The importance of these conditions lay not only in the fact that they affected the lives of more than one hundred thousand women, but in their decided effect on working conditions in practically all fields of private employment, for the Government service is varied and comprehensive, and the treatment accorded its workers necessarily established standards for women all over the country.

All women workers have therefore won a victory in the recent triumphs of the women Government employes, which, in addition to the appointment of a Reclassification Commission which is eliminating sex from wages, are in short these:

Won and Still to Win

The Civil Service Commission, following the report of the Woman's Bureau late last year, issued a ruling to the effect that all examinations for Government work must, in the future, be open to both men and women. Because this rule, good so far as it went, did not prevent bureau chiefs or department heads from discriminating against women in their selection of employes from the eligible lists, Senator McLean introduced his bill providing that in the actual appointment to jobs, women shall have equal opportunity with men, with the "physical barrier" provision.

In another bill introduced by Representative Fess, the Civil Service Commission itself, which has always been composed of three men, is modified by adding two women.

This progress in the last few months by no means contents women who are striving for a full and free equality of opportunity. The McLean bill, it is claimed, needs the safeguard of a proper administrative agency to secure its impartial interpretation. The Fess bill provides an administrative agency on which both men and women sit, but it does not require any representative qualifications for its members since the only restriction is that not more than three shall be of one political party. The present demand is that the membership of this committee include representatives of the department heads, employes and general public, with an equal number of men and women in each group.

Hope for the complete success of the demands of the working women in the Government employ rests in the final report of the Reclassification Commission.

For the enactment of legislation recommended by the report, women are depending upon the support of the Women's Trade Union League and the Federal Employes Union and the co-operation of women voters.

WOMEN IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY HAVE AIDED THE LIBERTY DRIVE

Center—Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, New York state chairman. Top Row—Mrs. Nelson Whittemore, state chairman of Michigan; Mrs. Genevieve Allen, chairman of California; Miss Helen Hunt, Florida chairman; Mrs. Adeline Atwater, who conducted the drive in Chicago. Lower Row—Mrs. Agnes Morey, chairman for Massachusetts; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, national finance chairman.

Woman's Liberty Drive

NO STATE is sufficient unto itself—that is one of the lessons of ratification.

Of what value is it for Kansas legislators to gather at the State capitol at their own expense and vote unanimously for the enfranchisement of women if thirty-five other States do not follow suit?

Conscious of this situation, no State has rested content with its own action on the woman suffrage amendment. Massachusetts, where the women, on the day of the ratification, marched straight from the capitol to a mass meeting, to raise money for work in other States, is typical of the whole country. Even Florida and Tennessee, unable themselves to ratify because of constitutional provision for intervening elections, have raised money to aid in other States.

When half of the States and one to spare had ratified the amendment they all united on Thanksgiving morning, in a Woman's Liberty Drive, to secure funds for campaigns in the remaining seventeen. This Liberty Drive, which will continue until the centenary of Susan B. Anthony, on February 15, has interested all the women of the nation in continuing their work for political freedom, and has already brought into the treasury of the National Woman's Party more than $30,000.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, as finance chairman of the Party, has co-operated with local leaders, while Miss Mabel Vernon has kept the workers in constant touch with headquarters and planned the tours of the speakers.

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and Miss Vernon toured the Middle West, opening the Liberty Drive in this section. They were the chief speakers before large meetings in Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul.

Miss Mary Winsor, who has recently returned from a trip to the southwest, will start shortly on another tour of the Southern states. Mrs. Richard Wainwright assisted in the Western campaigns, speaking in Colorado and Wyoming.

Conducted with the same purpose and in the same spirit, the Liberty Drive has varied in the different states in its methods. In Illinois, Mrs. Adeline Atwater, organizer of the campaign, concentrated her efforts on publicity throughout the State, not only in the newspapers, but through leaflets and letters to long lists of citizens and to every member of the State legislature. She reports that contributions are still arriving in response to these appeals.

In Texas, Mrs. Paul Millett, State chairman, and Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, legislative chairman, have placed ballot boxes in every Congressional district with warning placards, "If you want to put a vote in 1920, put a dollar in now."

A Thousand a Month

Pennsylvania, which made the largest pledge, $10,000, and has already raised $8,000, has followed the method of personal appeals, luncheons and public meetings. Miss Mary Burnham, of Philadelphia, who until her own State ratified, gave to its fund, has since given a thousand each month to the general fund. Miss Fannie Cochran, also of Philadelphia, contributed one thousand dollars a month during the past few months.

Michigan is raising a pledge of $4,000 by theater benefits and public meetings. The State branch, with Mrs. Nelson Whittemore as chairman, pledged $2,000, while Miss Clara Dyar and other Michigan members of the National Advisory Council, pledged $2,000.

In Massachusetts, Mrs. Agnes Morey, State chairman, and Miss Vivian Pierce, organizer, opened the campaign with a dinner in Boston at which Miss Alice Paul and Miss Doris Stevens were the speakers. A succession of meetings have followed throughout the State, the last one at Fanuiel Hall,

with a representative of Governer Coolidge, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch and Dudley Field Malone as speakers.

Colorado has raised over $1,000. Mrs. Bertha Fowler, State chairman, is heading the finance committee, with Dr. Margaret Long and Mrs. Horton Pope assisting in Denver. Mrs. Verner Reed and Mrs. Frank Woodward, both of Denver, have each contributed $500.

In lower California, the work is in charge of Miss Anne Murray, treasurer of the Los Angeles Committee, assisted by Mrs. Estelle Eylward.

Kentucky and Rhode Island promptly on the ratification by their legislatures on January 6, began their work for the drive. Miss Paul spoke at a Providence meeting at the home of Mrs. Mary Nicholson, on the 20th, at which over a thousand was pledged. In Louisville, Miss Louise P. Jones, Miss Lila Rowell and Miss Sophie Hill Preston, are holding sales and appealing to people of the State through letters.

The Liberty Drive, in addition to the funds which it has brought into the suffrage treasury, has kept alive throughout the country the fact that the liberty of American women is not yet attained.

Has Ratification Been Easy?

RATIFICATION has not been easy. It has proved a long, taxing struggle with forces necessarily scattered, with no single point of attack. Women have been forced to overcome many kinds of opposition—opposition which embodied, not only new political elements, but old enemies, prejudices and antagonisms too readily thought dead. Every ratification with the exception of four has meant a campaign, in many cases prolonged and difficult, against either the governor, the legislature or both.

Even in states where women are already voters and where the politicians are supposedly best persuaded as to the value of women, the matter of their enfranchisement has not been considered "worth the expense" of a special session; the convenience of political groups desiring to avoid such local issues as school-code fights and food-control legislation has been held of "more concern" than the freedom of women; crops have been declared too important to leave for a day for the sake of giving votes to women. In other states anti-suffrage governors have deliberately refused to call into session legislatures which they knew held a majority desiring to do their share for the enfranchisement of women.

Before the vote was taken in the Senate on June 4, so soon in fact as it was assured, organizers of the Woman's Party were in the field assisting State chairmen and their committees to prepare for ratification. Alice Paul, on the day the vote was cast, was in the Middle West touring the country on behalf of prompt State action.

The First Month

In the first month after the passage of the amendment by Congress, nine States ratified, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kansas, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Texas.

The three states which ratified within a few hours of each other on June 10, Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan, fought for the honor of first place on the ratification rolls.

Michigan and Illinois, however, both required campaigns. The governor had already sent his message to the legislature when the amendment was passed, and at first refused to add suffrage to the questions which he had specified were to be considered.

Word that the Illinois vote was taken reached the Wisconsin legislature just thirty minutes before the measure was brought up in that body, but still determined to be first, Wisconsin, within the hour that its vote was cast, dispatched a special messenger, David D. James, an ex-member of the legislature, and father of Miss Ada James, Wisconsin State chairman of the Woman's Party, to Washington to deposit the certified copy with the State Department.

Kansas, the first full suffrage State to act, set a new record on June 16. The members of its legislature, at their own suggestion, paid their expenses and met without salary in a special one-day session. New York was the second State to meet especially for this purpose, and then Texas, desiring to be the first Southern State to act, met in special session on June 28.

Difficulties South, West and East

Ratification by Texas was a special triumph for suffragists, and the result of a state-wide campaign led by Mrs. Clara Snell Wolf, state legislative chairman. The situation in the state was peculiarly difficult because of the fact that there had just been held a state referendum in which state suffrage was defeated.

Of all the victories of this month perhaps those most prized were Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, strongholds of anti-sentiment.

In Pennsylvania the situation at first seemed hopeless, but after a vigorous six weeks' campaign by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, chairman of the ratification committee, who won the support of Governor Sproul and finally of Senator Penrose himself, the amendment was passed and on the day of the vote the legislative halls were decorated with the banners of the National Woman's Party.

In Massachusetts where most people did not believe ratification could be secured, a campaign pressed by Mrs. Agnes Morey, state chairman, in all parts of the state and interviews with all legislators secured a favorable vote.

At about this point women were forced to realize sharply the difficulties still between them and complete success. The full suffrage States of the far West which they had justly hoped would ratify with a promptness that would give momentum to the whole campaign, continued to hesitate, offer excuses, and in more than one case refused flatly to call the special sessions necessary.

In July only four states met in special session to ratify the amendment, Iowa on the second, Missouri on the third,

Arkansas on the twentieth and Montana on the thirtieth. August was the least productive of any month. Nebraska, which voted on the second, was the only state to act. More than a month of vigorous campaigning then elapsed before another success could be counted. On September 8, with suffrage flags decorating the State capitol, with bands playing and galleries cheering, Minnesota ratified the amendment in special session. On September 10, came New Hampshire. In both of these states campaigns had been launched the day the amendment passed Congress, and from that time forth the governors had been unceasingly besought to call special sessions. By the end of September, when Utah took favorable action in a legislative session convened for the purpose, only one State seal was lacking to have made ratification just half complete.

The Half Way Mark

The half mark was passed by the ratification on November 1, of California. In an exaggerated fashion, California is typical of all the more difficult States. The opposition encountered was opposition not to suffrage, but to a special session. The campaign began in June and lasted without interruption until November. Governor Stephens was unquestionably the stumbling block, and the storm centered about him. He was favored with miles of signed petitions, he was besieged with innumerable personal requests from influential individuals, he was attacked editorially and otherwise in the press the length of the big State, and yet this avalanche of public opinion appeared not to move him one inch from his chosen position. But in the end it did. It only meant each month a little harder work, a little stronger pressure, more newspaper publicity, larger and larger ratification committees, and ever-increasing insistence. The time came when the real desires of the State were so thoroughly organized that they could be no longer be ignored.

The governor did not want the session called because of other political issues which he did not wish raised. He could have called the session and limited it to suffrage, but he did not even want the public's attention called to these issues by their conspicuous omission. The task was then to penetrate to the men in the governor's immediate political circle, win them individually, make them see the necessity of California's action. And this took time and personal care. Meanwhile the political aspect of the continued opposition was thoroughly aired through a press campaign and widespread meetings. At last came capitulation. The governor asked other Western States to join California in making women "a Thanksgiving gift of ratification," and set the date for a special session. The California legislature, once convened, ratified the amendment unanimously. The triumphant California campaign was the work of Mrs. Genevieve Allen, state chairman of the Patry, Mrs. William Kent, chairman of the California ratification committee, Miss Vivian Pierce, national organizer of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, national political chairman, and local members in all parts of the state.

The Maine ratification, which came on November 5, was uncertain up to the end, but there the opposition encountered was real anti-suffrage animus and disaster was avoided after a difficult fight by the narrow margin of two votes. Supplementing the work of Mrs. Robert Whitehouse, state chairman, and her committee, Alice Paul, national chairman, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of the national executive committee, were on the ground to help stave off defeat. Resolutions were secured from the national political, labor and farmers' organizations to the legislators to offset the effect of local antisuffrage leaders in these movements. A statement issued by local labor leaders declaring state organization to be against ratification was finally withdrawn by the state president, who was forced to acknowledge the statement had been unauthorized by the federation.

Not until December were any more ratifications secured, when North Dakota, South Dakota and Colorado fell in line during the last month of the year. Colorado, like California, because of local political complications, required a prolonged campaign which was conducted by Mrs. Bertha Fowler, state chairman, Dr. Caroline Spencer, state secretary, and Dr. Margaret Long, Congressional District Chairman of the Woman's Party, and other members of the Colorado Committee, for many months before it was finally rewarded on December 12.

No one can be sure when it will come, but the ultimate success of the ratification campaign will mark another tribute to the patience, the insight and the energy of a nation of women wanting to be free.—**Elizabeth Green Kalb.**

Mexican Women to the Front

MEXICO is joining in the world movement of women toward freedom. A copy, recently received, of a woman's program of economic, social and political action, shows a vigorous and efficient plan of organization being applied throughout the country. The Consejo Feminista Mexicano, a national council designed to knit together the women of all states and stations into a firm, working unit for emancipation and reconstruction, is the instrument which is effecting this coordination. Its immediate aim is a National Woman's Congress—the outcome of its state by state organization—which will determine upon a platform and a permanent executive committee. Of its later aims, Senorita Elena Torres, general secretary of the council, writes to the chairman of the National Woman's Party of this country:

"As the movement is still young, we are anxious to put ourselves in contact with the woman's movements of other countries, and provide for international affiliations. We are confident that with a better understanding between women the difficulties that arise from time to time in international relations will be more easily resolved."

Their present program includes:

The economic emancipation of women, with the old, old slogans of "equal pay for equal work," hygienic conditions of labor, protective laws;

The social and educational emancipation of women, with equal opportunities for intellectual and physical development now denied them;

Political emancipation, which means, in Mexio, a recognition of the rights actually conceded by the constitution, a campaign of education among women.

Further plans go beyond into the fields of civic and national reform where woman's help is most needed.

So Suffragists Calculate

(*Continued from page 7*)

Trade Union League, meeting in Washington, just before the International Congress of Working Women, adopted this resolution unanimously:

> "Whereas, political freedom is fundamental to industrial democracy, and
>
> "Whereas, political equality between men and women workers is essential to industrial justice, and
>
> "Whereas, in the solution of the present grave industrial problems all workers have need of every avenue of power and self-expression; therefore, be it
>
> "Resolved, That the Executive Board of the National Woman's Trade Union League . . . appeal to the remaining governors and legislatures to take whatever steps are necessary to bring about the immediate adoption of the suffrage amendment."

Further evidence of the force—the political force in this case—behind the demand of women to be given a share in the next national elections comes from the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion. This group also addressed itself directly to the legislators now in session, to whom it sent a letter containing these paragraphs:

> "As men who wore the uniform of our country . . . we feel that the great principle of equality on which our Republic was builded should be applied today by recognizing in our laws and constitution the equal right of women with men in the matter of the suffrage. Therefore, we respectfully urge in the strongest terms that yourself and the other members of the legislature should at this session vote to ratify the amendment to the Federal Constitution granting suffrage to women.
>
> "We soldiers of the great war fought for liberty and equality, and I assure you, my dear sir, that we shall vote for liberty and equality for women in the next and in the coming elections until that question is settled and settled right."

Campaign in Washington

Since the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in June, the Woman's Party, in its effort for prompt ratification, has followed two lines of work, distinct but constantly interlocking—one carried on at the National Capital, the other in the individual states.

Both lines of activity were begun even before the passage of the amendment. Ratification campaigns were already under way, when the amendment passed Congress. And Maud Younger, legislative chairman, from her office in Washington was card cataloguing state political leaders and members of state legislatures, getting down on record their political history and affiliations, in order to lay before national political leaders the information which would enable them to help in securing state action. Also working in Washington, Anita Pollitzer, National Organizer, has kept in daily communication with the leaders of both political parties and members of the National Administration, securing their steady cooperation and seeing to it that suffrage was constantly in their minds as a pressing and immediate issue.

This combined pressure, through national leaders and directly on the state legislatures, has in case after case meant the difference between defeat and ratification. In Maine, for example, this was evident, for when Miss Paul was summoned two days before the vote, the situation in that state appeared hopeless in the face of the statements of local officials and men of influence opposing ratification. Quick calls upon the workers in Washington secured statements of support from party, labor and farm committees and organizations, which sufficiently offset the effect of the state leaders' attitude to get the ratification through with two votes to spare.

Governors Caught on the Wing

Nor have national leaders been interviewed only in Washington. They have been pursued from capital to capital and from national conference to conference. Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, as political chairman, attended the governors' conference in Denver and also the party councils in New York and Washington. If a small group of western governors met in Chicago to discuss the shipping arrangements for cattle, there they found suffragists who converted their talk from cattle to ratification. Or if again the land question brought a group of executives into special session they found themselves induced to unite in simultaneous calls of their legislatures or even persuading each other to call special sessions.

In most cases the suffragists approached these officials with due introductions and all needed credentials, but lacking these they still let no governor escape them. Governor Larazolo, of New Mexico, stopped in the corridors of a Washington hotel by Miss Pollitzer, demanded: "How did you spot me?" "By your hat," said Miss Pollitzer, and secured the selection of a date for the meeting of one more legislature.

The Woman's Party is now pursuing this double method of campaigning in every state where there is so much as a hope of ratification. The question then is, with pressure coming from practically every organized force in the country, with women urging their demand through every means in their power, with the amendment already ratified by states representing more than two-thirds of the people, will the Republican and Democratic parties permit officials for whom they are responsible to put either individual prejudice or local political interest ahead of the enfranchisement of more than twenty-five million people? **F. B. B.**

Do you Know there is a Suffrage Tea Room?

It Is

THE GRATED DOOR

14 JACKSON PLACE **WASHINGTON, D. C.**

BREAKFAST	LUNCH	DINNER
8 — 9:30	12 — 2	6 — 7:30
	SUNDAY	
9 — 10:00		6 — 7:30
CLUB BREAKFAST	LUNCH	DINNER
.25 to .75	.50	.85 Also a la carte

Ratification and Referendum

IF thirty-six states ratify the suffrage amendment may referendums still debar women from voting in the next elections?

The consensus of legal opinion is that they will not, but the matter will remain in doubt until a decision is handed down by the Supreme Court on the Ohio test case, which is called for a hearing on March first. As for the state supreme courts, three have declared against and two for the legality of referendum.

The question is not so much one of fact as of law. No matter how many states held referendum elections on the suffrage amendment, either before or after ratification, it would remain for the Supreme Court of the United States to decide whether or not the referendum elections could be considered as in any way affecting the power of the legislatures to ratify.

The interests of the Woman's Party are being represented in this legal tangle by William Draper Lewis, former dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and one of the best known constitutional lawyers of the country, and Shippen Lewis, both of Philadelphia.

Ohio Test Case

The present situation is this:

In Ohio a petition was circulated, and filed in September, demanding a referendum on the ratification of the suffrage amendment. An effort was made to prevent such a referendum by injunction, but the injunction was refused by both the lower and the higher court of Ohio, and was carried by appeal before the United States Supreme Court.

How important the decision is for suffragists is evidenced from the list of twenty-two states which have the referendum laws and in which a referendum, if declared legal, would be possible. The twenty-two are: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah and Washington.

The litigation between the "wets" and the "drys" on the prohibition amendment has tended to raise this question of ratification referendum in various ways, but in the cases already disposed of by the Supreme Court, other questions have intervened which were determinative. The Ohio suffrage case now pending is identical with the prohibition case which was decided against the prohibitionists in the Ohio supreme court on September 30, 1919. It involves that amendment to the Ohio constitution, adopted in November, 1918, which seeks to reserve to the electors the right of referendum on actions of the Ohio general assembly in ratifying Federal amendments. The suit seeks to enjoin the referendum election on the ground of the waste of public funds for a useless election; because, it is argued, the provision of the Ohio constitution conflicts with Article 5, of the Constitution of the United States.

In the prohibition litigation, the State supreme courts of Oregon, Maine and Arkansas decided that the referendum could not be applied in the case of an amendment to the United States Constitution, while the courts of Ohio and Washington held that such a referendum could be held. The decision of the State supreme court in Ohio was upon the ground that the constitution of that state specifies the application of the referendum to Federal amendments. In no other state is there such a specific application, and for this reason, it does not necessarily follow that even if the Supreme Court of the United States should uphold the referendum in Ohio, it would uphold it in other states. The Washington decision was upon a divided vote of the supreme court, five justices concurring and four dissenting.

What is a Legislature

Broadly speaking, the question calls for a construction of Article V, of the United States Constitution, and for a definition of the term "legislature" as used in that article, which reads as follows:

"Article V. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, . . . which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; etc."

It was argued, in behalf of the "drys" that Article V precludes a referendum because the term "legislature" means a legislative body that represents the people, and does not contemplate a direct vote of the people themselves. In support of this argument they have the historical setting of the Constitution, which was framed before the rise of the initiative and referendum movement, by delegates from the people, among whom the theory of representative government prevailed.

The "Wet" Argument

On the other hand, it was contended by the "wets" that the referendum clauses of state constitutions are in effect a reservation, by the people of the respective states, of their original legislative authority. This authority remaining, undelegated, with the people, comes, it is claimed, within the meaning of the term "legislature" as used in Article V of the United States Constitution and the act of ratification is not complete until this reserved legislative authority is brought into play.

It is impossible to predict what the consequences of an adverse decision in the Ohio case would be, as that would depend upon the extent to which the court's ruling might be applied to other States where the referendum provisions do not specifically include ratification of Federal amendments, and also upon the status of the amendment at the time of the decision. In the absence of a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, upholding Ohio's ratification without regard to a referendum, we may not count ratification safely completed until thirty-six States have been won, exclusive of Ohio.

Sue S. White.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted By Alice Henry

WOMEN AND THE SOVEREIGN STATE, by A. Maude Royden. Published by Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN, known to many in this country as a lecturer, occupies the position of assistant minister in the famous City Temple of London. In her latest book, "Women and the Sovereign State," the attacks she makes on some hoary old superstitions must be extremely embarrassing to her opponents. But she goes further than this, and turns the other edge of her sword against those who are inclined to make an idol of the State itself, and that is a tendency which has of late everywhere taken a new lease of life. She argues that while the advantages of a more and more highly organized society are self-evident, yet that in all states some have been defrauded of its advantages, and excluded from its benefits, excluded because they were of another race, excluded because they were slaves, or at least servile workers, excluded because they were women. The privileged, realizing to the full in their own persons the good side of the organized state, forget that all are not so fortunate, and even now are calling upon the exploited and excluded ones to worship it along with them.

The whole woman movement is a questioning of claims imposed upon women from without, imposed by the family, imposed by convention, imposed by law, and many supported in the last resort by the backing of the State. Matters are not as bad as they were, but in modern civilized countries they are even more confusing than when the denial of citizenship was complete and unquestioned. For instance, is a woman a person or not? "The truth is that her existence is not a continuous one. It hangs upon the breath, not of kings, but of members of parliament, and of judges interpreting the act which gives or takes away her precarious personality. For the old assumption that woman is an arrested human being, a 'perpetual minor,' there is substituted a new one, that she is intermittently human, a person or not a person at the discretion of a sovereign parliament."

And if these distinctions are confusing to women, to legislators woman's very existence is a perpetual puzzle. The married woman, Miss Royden points out, is often under restrictions on her labor outside the home, in the name and for the sake of her children, but should her husband die, existence is made impossible for her unless she will go out to work and put her children into an institution.*

The point of view of the State is almost invariably, possibly quite naturally, the point of view of its component citizens, and the component citizens having been in the past wholly men, it is not astonishing that when the matters dealt with are such as the rights of women in industry, the reform of the marriage laws, or the problem of prostitution, the decisions arrived at should so often be such as suit the prejudice of the interests of men.

*The Ohio newspapers, a few months ago, reported the case of an Italian woman who was said to have killed her seven children and herself because the State had decided that it was for their good that they should all be taken from her and placed under State care.

But the "ferment of democracy has reached even women at last. They begin to observe that, like 'slaves and men engaged in degrading occupations,' they have been sacrificed to the convenience of others. * * * The exigencies of war have changed something at least. * * * Women have been asked for a free service which is more than one of sex—for a human loyalty and co-operation to which they have magnificently responded. Let politicians learn from this that it is not service, but servility that women will endure no longer. Let it be recognized that the State is only sovereign when she aims at 'the good life' for all her citizens."

Miss Royden gives an orderly and reasoned presentation of her subject. She supports her case by recent authorities, and with unusual freshness of illustration. Besides this she portrays the case of womanhood exploited and humanity cheated of womanhood's highest contributions, with a warmth and intensity that cannot but rouse thought.

THE PROCESSES OF HISTORY. By Frederick J. Teggart, Associate Professor of History in the University of California. Published by the Yale University Press.

When a tiny book has been ten years in the writing, curiosity is agog as to its contents. Mr. Teggart meets the challenge well. The question he asks covers a broad field. Is history a science? No, but it ought to be, and it must become scientific if it is ever to give us what we need to fill a place analogous to that filled in other fields by the natural

---

The WAYFARER'S BOOK SHOP
Bookstore Gates to Lands of Treasure

BOOKS RECEIVED

PORTRAITS OF AMERICAN WOMEN—Gamaliel Bradford; Houghton Mifflin, N. Y.

THE CRAFT OF THE TORTOISE—Algernon Tassin; Boni & Liveright, N. Y.

A WOMAN OF THIRTY—Marjorie Seiffert; Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.

LOVE SONGS—Sarah Teasdale; Macmillian, N. Y.

WERE YOU EVER A CHILD—Floyd Dell; Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.

POINTED ROOFS, BACKWATER, HONEYCOMB, THE TUNNEL, (in preparation) Interim—Dorothy M. Richardson; Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.

A SERVANT OF REALTY—Phyllis Bottome; Century Co., N. Y.

MADAM BOVARY, translated from the French of Gustave Flaubert by Eleanor Marks Aveling; Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.

THE MAN-MADE WORLD (new edition)—Charlotte Perkins Gilman; Charlton & Co., N. Y.

LINDA CONDON—Joseph Hergesheimer; Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.

Suggested by

The Wayfarer's Bookshop, 1623 H St., N. W.

sciences, and by its reading of the past enable us to interpret our own age.

Mr. Teggart calls attention to a curious paradox, that the seeming advantage of inheriting dated records has proved a fatal drawback in the way of our attaining earlier to a real science of human history. Take geology, for instance, students set out with no dated evidence, but were compelled, out of the confused mass of material obtainable, to formulate a science, and had to ascertain dates through study and investigation. These dates, once they were ascertained, meant so far an understanding of the subject. But historians have taken the dates ready to their hand, theorized around them, and built upon that insecure foundation a showy and deceptive structure.

Mr. Teggart is not the first to see the need of scientific method, but he is certainly the most consistent in his insistency upon it. Only by such a slowly attained interpretation of the past can we learn to interpret and cope with the tremendous problems facing ourselves, such for instance as that of whole communities dissatisfied and in revolt. He does not leave us without suggestions as to the lines on which such an inquiry should be begun. Man, he believes, is a stable animal, inert, content, unwilling to be moved out of the rut, influenced mainly by his physical and economic environment, and by the general culture and thought of his nation or his community. Left to himself, he would indeed progress, though at a very tardy rate. But there come periods when the growth in ideas is by leaps and bounds. To bring about such sudden and revolutionary changes no factor has been so effective as the collision of diverse modes of thought. The fact that this collision is so often the result of war has led many to suppose that conflict in that crude and brutal form is an essential antecedent to progress, the real cause being the stimulus to thought and invention from meeting fresh situations and unfamiliar types of human beings—the clash of ideas.

This theory, applied to woman's development, opens out a new field of speculation, and a vast vista of hope. For if the advance in woman's status throughout the ages has been maddeningly slow, may we not believe that the far more rapid changes of today are the result, in part, at least, of the violent collision between distinctively feminine thoughts and ideas, and a firmly established masculine civilization, wide and universal as the world itself.

They Say

IF EDITORS could call special sessions the suffrage amendment would be ratified "now." That is the word —NOW—which begins or ends nine out of every ten editorials printed.

"Let's do it now" leads off in the *Cleveland Press,* while "Women are entitled to vote, not in some hazy, inconsequential future, but now," concludes the *Florida Tribune,* and the *Nation,* under a rallying head, "Now for Woman Suffrage," urges ratification "forthwith."

The *Cleveland Press* puts it in this way:

"The governors of the States that have not ratified the woman suffrage amendment should call their legislators together and do so.

"The proposition is, the women are sure to get the vote, if not in 1920, then in 1921. Then why cannot the indifferent governors see that it would eliminate considerable strife if they would help accomplish this ultimate end in the next few weeks, instead of prolonging the women's campaign for months, and maybe a year.

"Governors, let's end this struggle for suffrage.!"

The Nation argues, "After years of agitation, the question of Federal suffrage for women is at last before the country in the form of a specific proposal, requiring only the affirmative action of the State legislatures to give it effect. It is neither a party nor a sectional question, but a national one. It is expected that the amendment will be accepted in January at four regular legislative sessions. Of the ten special sessions which will be necessary, the National Woman's Party is hoping for Washington, Nevada, Arizona and Oklahoma. . . .

"The argument that special sessions of legislatures entail unnecessary expense is not impressive and should have no weight. We are persuaded that the people wish to have the suffrage amendment ratified not grudgingly, but cheerfully and forthwith."

A Tribute and a Hope

Woman suffrage is an almost forgotten issue today, and yet the battle is not won. Despite the capitulation of Congress last June, nearly three-fourths of the women of these States will be denied the right to vote in the Presidential campaign of 1920, unless a miracle is accomplished in the next two months. The miracle will not fall from Heaven. If it occurs, it will be the result of hard work on the part of those same good fighters who picketed the White House and went to jail and finally wrung the Federal amendment out of a distressed and embarrassed Government—Alice Paul's gallant band of militants.

They are still at it—seeing that the necessary thirty-six States ratify the amendment in time for women to vote next fall. Twenty-one States have ratified. Their chief effort now is to force the governors of States whose legislatures hold no regular session this year, to call a special session in order to ratify the amendment. If you go into their headquarters thinking this is unimportant—women can wait another four years; voting doesn't amount to much anyhow —you are pretty sure to come out thinking it is important, no matter who you are or how far to the left of the Left you stand on political action.

They are working more inconspicuously than in the old days, but with the same amazing clarity and tenacity of purpose. You come out wanting them to win and hoping with all your heart that those Western governors who, for private political reasons, don't want to call a special session this year, will see that they are outmatched and hurry up and give in, so that the women of the country can declare themselves politically free on February 15, 1920—one hundred years from the day Susan B. Anthony was born.—CRYSTAL EASTMAN, in *The Liberator,* January, 1920.

History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, years 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, years 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yes 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified

Those starred ratified at Special Sessions

		VOTE	
		Senate	House
Wisconsin	June 10	24-1	54-2
*Michigan	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
*Kansas	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
*Ohio	June 16	27-3	73-6
*New York	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
Illinois	June 17	Unan.	133-4
Pennsylvania	June 24	32-6	153-44
Massachusetts	June 25	34-5	185-47
*Texas	June 28	Unan.	96-21
*Iowa	July 2	Unan.	95-5
*Missouri	July 3	28-3	125-4
*Arkansas	July 29	20-2	76-17
*Montana	July 30	38-1	Unan.
*Nebraska	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
*Minnesota	Sept. 8	60-5	120-6
*New Hampshire	Sept. 10	14-10	212-143
*Utah	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
*California	Nov. 1	Unan.	73-2
*Maine	Nov. 5	24-5	72-68
*North Dakota	Dec. 1	38-4	103-6
*South Dakota	Dec. 3	Unan.	Unan.
*Colorado	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
Rhode Island	Jan. 6	37-1	89-3
Kentucky	Jan. 6	30-8	72-25
*Oregon	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
*Indiana	Jan. 16	43-3	Unan.
*Wyoming	Jan. 26	Unan.	Unan.

States Which Have Failed to Ratify
Resolution to Reject Adopted

		VOTE	
		Senate	House
Georgia	July 24	39-8	118-20
Alabama	Sept. 2	18-13	No Vote
Mississippi	Jan. 21	No Vote	106-25
South Carolina	Jan. 24	No Vote	93-21

States Which Met Without Action

Virginia—Aug. 13 to Sept. 3, 1919. Special session for other matters.

States Where Special Sessions Have Been Called

Nevada	February 7
New Mexico	February 10
Idaho	February 11
Arizona, "before Feb. 13"	

States, Which Have Not Acted, Meeting in Regular Session This Year

Louisiana	May
Maryland	January 6
New Jersey	January 13
Virginia	January 13

States Which Have Not Acted and Which Do Not Meet in Regular Session Before 1921

Connecticut
Delaware
Florida
North Carolina
Oklahoma
Tennessee
Vermont
Washington
West Virginia